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Hickey, Michael J.

Bolshevism self-defined and self-convicted

New York City

[1919?]

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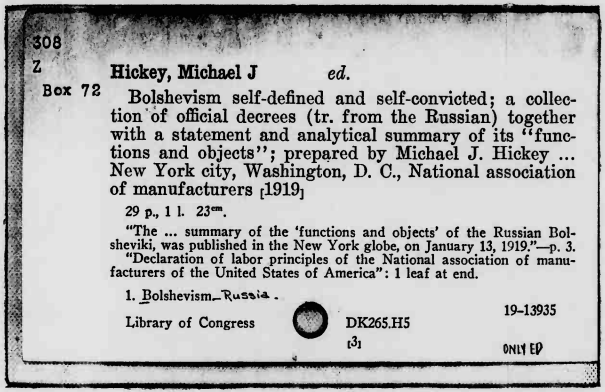

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Hickey, Michael J *ed.*

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Box 72

BOLSHEVISM

SELF-DEFINED AND SELF-CONVICTED

A COLLECTION OF OFFICIAL DECREES
(TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN)
TOGETHER WITH A STATEMENT
AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY
OF ITS "FUNCTIONS
AND OBJECTS"

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS
30 CHURCH STREET, NEW YORK CITY
WASHINGTON, D. C. OFFICE: UNION TRUST BUILDING

BOLSHEVISM

Self-Defined and Self-Convicted

A collection of official decrees (translated from the Russian) together with a statement and analytical summary of its "Functions and Objects"

Prepared by

MICHAEL J. HICKEY

MANAGER, INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENT, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS

National Association of Manufacturers

30 Church Street, New York City

Washington, D. C. Office: Union Trust Building

FOREWORD

To most of America's lawful, thrifty and industrious citizens, that imported-from-Russia catch phrase—Bolshevism—is a nebulous, mysterious thing. Invested with the lure that cunning minds have invented for impracticable folk, Bolshevik "philosophy"—perhaps sophistry would be a better term—has been widely advertised.

The charlatans of the Bolshevik movement have written a political creed for the ignorant and thoughtless. Some of its tenets are ludicrously interesting. In the "Soviet Republic" no one is permitted to vote who possesses real and personal property worth more than $300. The given reason for this is that persons owning property vote in the interests of that property and not for the public interest. It is held that the only disinterested—and consequently honest—elector is one who possesses absolutely nothing. The charlatans point out that a judge is not supposed to sit upon a case in which he has a financial interest, and they say the same principle applies to the franchise. In the Bolshevist courts no one possessing property can sit upon a jury. The argument used is the same as that which permits only those to vote who have no interest in the result of the election. In most of the American states the name of the juror must appear on the county assessment roll as the owner of property. In the Bolshevist state only that person can vote whose name does not appear as a property holder.

These two instances will enable one to measure the depth of the Bolshevik philosophy. The sophistry of the reasoning that only persons shall exercise the franchise and sit on juries who have no property interests in the state is too apparent to necessitate a detailed refutation.

A little study of the Bolshevist teaching reveals that they preach simply the philosophy of greed. The Bolshevist movement is doomed to fail because it does not provide for increasing the production of the country. The Bolshevist annihilates, he does not produce. If the Bolshevist movement were to control the governments of the world for a generation all wealth would be annihilated, three-fourths of the present population of the earth would have perished of starvation or violence and the remaining fourth would be living in scattered tribes as did their forbears three thousand years ago.

Education is the deadly enemy of Bolshevism. He who reads its doctrines with understanding will know that it is a philosophy of greed and banditry; that modern life under such conditions would be impossible.

Fundamental rules of the Russian Bolshevists, officially announced, afford possibly the best, first-hand evidence of their impossible, but shrewdly couched statements of belief. The practical application of their rule is visible to any who read the testimony of those who have recently come out of Russia.

This pamphlet is intended to enlighten the thoughtful business men, and citizens in general, of the United States, concerning the social-political disease, in the throes of which Russia is now writhing.

22 March, 1920 - C.R.W.

BOLSHEVISM

Part One—Section One

BOLSHEVISM SELF-DEFINED

(NOTE:—The following summary of the "functions and objects" of the Russian Bolsheviki, was published in the *New York Globe*, on January 13, 1919, to which source we are indebted.)

An official statement of the "functions and objects" of the Bolsheviki, translated as set forth in the Constitution or Fundamental Law of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, is now available. This document, consisting of six divisions and many sub-divisions, was adopted by the All-Russian Convention of Soviets at the session of July 10, 1918. It is required to be posted in a prominent place in all Soviet institutions and to be explained and interpreted in all schools of the Russian republic.

Division 1, of the constitution is a "Declaration of Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People," in which all power is bestowed upon the toiling masses and their authorized representatives, the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies. How the old order is to be subverted is decreed in chapter 2 of this division, viz.:

"Setting before itself the fundamental task of putting an end to all exploitation of man by man, or removing the division of society into classes, of mercilessly suppressing the exploiters, of establishing a socialist organization of society, and the victory of socialism in all countries, the 3d all-Russian Convention of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, decrees as follows:

"(a) For the purpose of realizing the principle of the socialization of land, private ownership in land is abolished and the entire land fund is declared the property of the people and is turned over to the toilers without an indemnity upon the principle of equalization of land allotments.

"(b) All forests, mineral wealth, water power and waterways of public importance, as well as all live stock and agricultural implements, all model landed estate and agricultural enterprises are declared national property.

"(c) As a first step to the complete transfer of factories, mills, mines, railroads and other means of production and transportation into property of the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic the law concerning the workers' control and concerning the Supreme Coun-

cil for National Economy, which aims at securing the power of the toilers over the exploiters, is hereby confirmed.

"(d) The 3d convention of the Soviets considers the Soviet law concerning the annulling (repudiation) of loans contracted by the governments of the Czar, the landlords and the capitalists, as the first blow at international banking and financial capital, and expresses the conviction that Soviet government will advance steadfastly along this path until complete victory of the international workers against the yoke of capitalism is secured.

"(e) The principle of the transfer of all banks into the property of the workers' and peasants' state, as one of the conditions of emancipation of the toiling masses from the yoke of capital, is hereby reaffirmed.

"(f) For the purpose of doing away with parasitical elements in society and of organizing the economic affairs of the country, universal obligatory labor service is established.

"(g) In order to secure full power for the toiling masses, and to remove every opportunity for re-establishing the government of the exploiters, the principle of arming the toilers, of forming a Socialist Red Army of the Workers and Peasants and of completely disarming the property-holding classes is hereby decreed."

Division 2 is devoted to "general principles." The principal aim of the constitution is declared to be the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Supreme authority is lodged in the all-Russian Convention of Soviets, and in the interval between conventions, in the all-Russian central executive committee. The church is separated from the state, the school from the church, and freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda is secured for all citizens. The press is put in the hands of the working class. Freedom of assemblage is guaranteed. Education is free. The motto is adopted: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat." Universal military service is made obligatory. "The honorable privilege of defending the revolution with arms in hand is granted only to the toilers. Upon the non-working elements other military duties are imposed." Resident foreigners who are not "exploiters" are granted rights of Russian citizenship. Asylum is promised to political refugees.

Division 3 is taken up with details of machinery of the Soviet government.

Division 4 deals with the voting franchise. These are the main provisions, viz.:

"The right to elect and be elected to membership in the Soviets is enjoyed, independent of religion, nationality, right of domicile, etc., by the following citizens of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic of either sex, who up to date of the elections have reached the age of eighteen years.

"(a) All persons obtaining their means of livelihood by productive and socially useful labor as well as persons engaged in domestic service who thereby enable the former to carry on their productive labors, such as workmen and servants of all kinds and categories engaged in industry, trade, agriculture, etc., peasants and Cossack cultivators, not using hired labor for the purpose of securing profit.

"(b) Soldiers and sailors of the Soviet army and navy.

"(c) Citizens who belong to the categories enumerated in paragraphs (a) and (b) of this article, but who have lost in some degree their working capacity.

"Note 1—Local Soviets may with the consent of the central authority lower the age limit for the franchise established by the present article.

"Note 2—Among the persons who are not naturalized citizens of Russia these, indicated in article 20 (division 2, chapter 5) enjoy also active and passive franchise rights.

"The following persons, even if they should belong to any of the above mentioned categories, may neither elect nor be elected.

"(a) Persons using hired labor for the sake of securing profit.

"(b) Persons living on unearned increment such as: interest on capital, income from industrial enterprises and property, etc.

"(c) Private traders, trading and commercial agents.

"(d) Monks and ecclesiastical servants of churches and religious cults.

"(e) Employes and agents of the former police, of the special corps of gendarmes and of branches of secret police department, and also members of the former reigning house of Russia.

"(f) Persons, duly recognized as mentally afflicted or insane, as well as persons placed in charge of guardians.

"(g) Persons sentenced for crimes of speculation and bribery to a term fixed by law or by a judicial sentence."

Division 5 is concerned with the budget. It undertakes to supply the organs of Soviet government with all means necessary for the needs of the republic, "not even hesitating at the violation of the rights of private property to attain this end."

Division 6 describes the coat of arms and flag of the Soviet republic:

"The coat of arms of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic consists of the representation on a red background in rays of the sun of a gold sickle and hammer placed crosswise, the handles pointing downward, the whole surrounded by a wreath of wheat ears and having the inscription:

"(a) Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, and

"(b) Proletarians of all countries, unite.

"The commercial, naval, and military standard of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic consists of a scarlet flag in the upper left corner of which, near the flagstaff, are placed the letters R. S. F. S. R. in gold, or the words Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic."

The fundamental law comes into force from the moment of its publication in its final form in the "Izvestiya of the all-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets."

Part One—Section Two

NATIONALIZATION OF BANKS

Under date of December 14, 1917, the following decree for the nationalization of the banks was issued by the Russian Bolshevist Government:

"In the interest of the regular organization of the national economy, of the thorough eradication of bank speculation and the complete emancipation of the workmen, peasants, and the whole laboring population from the exploitation of banking capital, and with a view to the establishment of a single national bank of the Russian Republic which shall serve the real interests of the people and the poorer classes, the Central Executive Committee resolves:

"(1) The banking business is declared a state monopoly.

"(2) All existing private joint-stock banks and banking offices are merged in the state bank.

"(3) The assets and liabilities of the liquidated establishments are taken over by the state bank.

"(4) The order of the merger of private banks in the state bank is to be determined by a special decree.

"(5) The temporary administration of the affairs of the private banks is entrusted to the board of the state bank.

"(6) The interests of the small depositors will be safeguarded."

Part One—Section Three

EIGHT-HOUR LAW

On October 29, 1917, the Russian Soviet Government issued and put into effect a so-called "eight-hour law," which prescribes specific hours and conditions of labor in all Russian factories and industries. The official (translated) text of this law is given below:

"(1) This law applies to all establishments and industries irrespective of their size or to whom they belong, and to all persons employed in hired labor.

"(2) The working time, or the number of working hours in a day, is considered to be the time during which, according to the contract of employment (Articles 48, 60, 96, 98, and 103, of the Industrial Labor Law), the workman is obliged to be in the industrial establishment at the disposal of its superintendent for the performance of the work.

"Note 1. In underground work the time taken by the descent into the mine and ascent to the surface is considered working time.

"Note 2. The working time of workmen sent to perform any kind of labor beyond the boundaries of an establishment is determined by special agreement with the workmen.

"3. The working time fixed by the rules governing the internal organization of the establishment (Clause 1, Article 103 of the Industrial Labor Law) must not exceed eight working hours in a day and forty-eight hours in a week, including therein also the time employed in cleaning the engine and in putting the premises in order.

"On Christmas eve (December 24), and on the Pentecost holiday (Whitsunday) work is stopped at eleven o'clock in the morning.

"4. Not later than six hours after the commencement of work a free interval for rest and eating must be designated. The interval must not be shorter than one hour.

"Free recesses during work are those which are fixed by the rules of the internal organizations; during such recesses the workman is free to dispose of his time and to leave the boundaries of the establishment.

"During the free recesses in working time the engines, lathes, and benches must be stopped; exceptions from this rule are allowed only for those overtime works which are performed in accordance with Article 18-22 of this law, as well as for engines and motors which are working for ventilation, water supply, lighting, etc., moreover, work may not be stopped in those manufactories in which stoppage is impossible for technical reasons (such as unfinished casting or unfinished polishing).

"(Note 1.) Establishments whose work is recognized by law or by the main chamber or labor as continuous and which is performed in three shifts a day, do not observe the rules regarding recesses, but are obliged to give the workmen the right to take food during his work.

"(Note 2.) If a workman, owing to the condition of his work, cannot absent himself from the place of work to take food, then a room or place is to be provided for him for that purpose. The setting aside of a special room for the above purpose is obligatory for those workmen who, when working, come in contact with materials recognized by the rulings of the main board of factory and mining industries (or the organ taking its place) as injurious to the health of the workmen (lead, mercury, etc.).

"5. The general duration of all recesses during 24 hours shall not exceed two hours.

"6. Night time is considered the time between 9 o'clock in the evening and 6 o'clock in the morning.

"7. In the night time it is forbidden to utilize the labor of workers of the female sex, or of workers of the male sex under sixteen years of age.

"8. For enterprises working two shifts of workmen, the night time is considered from 9 o'clock in the evening until 5 o'clock in the morning, while the free recesses (Art. 4), may be reduced to half an hour for each shift.

"9. In those cases where, by request of the workers (for instance.

in brick works) or on account of climatic conditions, it is desired to make the midday recess more lengthy, the main board of factory and mining industries (or the organ taking its place) may permit a corresponding departure from the rules in Articles 4, 5, 6, and 8 of this statute.

"10. When hiring minors under 18 years of age the following rules in addition to the above are supplied: (a) minors under 14 years are not permitted to work for hire; (b) the working time of minors under 18 may not be longer than 6 hours a day.

(Note.) Beginning January 1, 1919, all persons who have not reached 15 years are not permitted to work for hire, and beginning January 1, 1920, those who have not reached 20 years of age.

"11. In the table of holidays on which work is stopped (Cl. 2, Art. 103 of Industrial Labor Law) are included all Sundays and the following holidays: January 1, January 6, February 27, March 25, May 1, August 15, September 14, December 25 and 26, Friday and Saturday of Passion week, Monday and Tuesday of Easter week, Ascension Day, and the second day of Pentecost.

"(Note 1.) For non-Christians it is permitted to include other holidays instead of Sundays, according to the precepts of their religion; of the remaining holidays mentioned in this article only those are obligatory for them which are not indicated in the following note.

"(Note 2.) By the consent of the majority of workmen of an establishment or industry, or any part of them; the holidays of January 1 and 6, August 15, September 14, December 26, Saturday of Passion week and Easter Monday may be replaced by other free days

"12. In one-shift day work the least duration of the Sunday and holiday rest given each workman is fixed at 42 hours. In two-shift work with two complements of workmen, and in three-shift work with three complements of workmen, the least duration of a Sunday and holiday rest for each workman is fixed by agreement with the workmen's organizations.

"13. By mutual agreement of the superintendent of the establishment or industry with the people employed by it, the latter may, as a departure from the rules about holidays indicated in Article 11, be engaged in work on a holiday instead of on a weekday. Such an understanding must be immediately reported to the proper officials who look after the execution of this law.

"14. The main board of factory and mining industries (or the organ taking its place) is given the right to issue regulations permitting, to the extent of real necessity, departures from the rules in Articles 3, 4, 5 and 8 for those establishments which, by the nature of their production for the satisfaction of public needs, must perform the work in the night time or must work irregularly at different seasons of the year (for instance, work for lighting and water supply of cities).

"15. In manufactories and works in which the workmen are subjected to the operation of particularly unfavorable conditions, or to dangers of occupational poisoning (such as work in an extraordinarily high temperature, in mercury, and bleaching factories, etc.), the

working time indicated in Articles 3-5 and 8 is subject to further reduction. A list of such works and manufactories, with the indication of the duration of the working time permissible in each line of work, as well as other conditions of the work, is to be compiled by the main board of factory and mining industries (or the organ which takes its place).

"16. Women and youths of either sex under 18 years of age are not permitted to work underground.

"17. A departure from the rules stated in Article 3-5 and 8-12 is permitted by agreement with the workmen with the approval of the workmen's organizations with regard to workmen engaged in auxiliary work, such as repairs, care of boilers, motors, lathes, factory heating, water supply, lighting of the factory buildings, guard and fire duty, and in general such work without whose preliminary performance the industrial enterprise can not be put in operation at the fixed time and which must of necessity be performed after the stoppage of the work.

"18. The work which is performed by the workman at a time when, according to the tables of working time, he is not supposed to work, is considered overtime. Overtime work is permitted only when conditions stated on Articles 19-23 of this statute are observed when it is paid for at a double rate.

"19. All persons of the female sex, and persons of the male sex who have not reached 18 years of age, are not permitted to work overtime.

"20. Workmen of the male sex older than 18 years may work overtime with the permission of the workmen's organization only in the following cases: (a) when overtime work is necessary in order to finish in time the work begun, which because of unforeseen and accidental delay could not by the mechanical conditions of production be finished in the normal working time (according to the rules of the establishment), and when the stoppage of that work at the set time might cause danger or injury to materials and the mechanism (work with chemical processes, casting, etc., may be considered of that nature); (b) for the performance of work necessary to avert danger to life or property, or for the removal of accidental causes which have disturbed the technical conditions necessary for the regular water supply, lighting, sanitation, and urgent public communication; (c) when working on necessary repairs in case of sudden injury to boilers, motors, lathes, and, in general, unforeseen derangement of mechanisms, apparatus, or structure (buildings, dams, etc.), which cause the stoppage of the work of the entire establishment or any of its branches; (d) when performing temporary work in any branch of the establishment in cases where because of fire, break-down, or unforeseen circumstances, the work of one or other branch of the establishment was stopped for some time or entirely and when this work is necessary for the full operation of the other branches of the establishment.

"21. In such a case as is mentioned in the last paragraph of Article 20 it is necessary to obtain from the commissar of labor, or labor inspector, a special permit for overtime work; and in the appli-

cation for such permit the daily duration of such work and the time during which it will be performed must be indicated. About overtime specified in Clauses b and c of Article 20, ordinary notice is given.

"22. All overtime work is recorded in the workmen's account books by special entry, with an indication of the pay due for it; in addition, a special overtime account has to be kept in the office books for each workman separately.

"23. Overtime under conditions stated in Articles 19-22 is allowed on not more than 50 days in a year for each separate establishment, and each day of overtime work in a branch is counted even if on that day only one workman did overtime work in that branch.

"24. The duration of overtime work of each individual workman must in no case exceed four hours for two days in succession.

"25. For some time, until the end of military operations, in the establishments working for defense, the rules limiting the duration of overtime work (Articles 19-24) and those about recesses during the time (Articles 4-6) may be suspended by agreement with the workmen and the workmen's organizations.

"26. This law is to be put into operation by telegraph and becomes effective immediately; for its violation offenders are liable to imprisonment for a period not longer than one year."

Part One—Section Four

DECREE ABOLISHING INHERITANCE

"I. Inheritance, whether by law or by will, is abolished. After the death of an owner, the property which belonged to him, whether movable or immovable, becomes the property of the Government of the Russian Socialistic Soviet Federative Republic.

"(Note.) The discontinuance and transfer of rights of utilization of farm lands is determined by the rules provided in the fundamental law of the socialization of the land.

"II. Until the issuance of a decree dealing with general social arrangements, relatives who are in need (*i. e.*, those who do not possess a minimum maintenance), and who are incapable of work—such relatives being in a directly ascending or descending line, full or half brothers or sisters, or spouse, of the deceased—receive support from the property left by the deceased.

"(Note 1.) No distinction is made between the relationship that arises within wedlock and that which arises outside of wedlock.

"(Note 2.) Adopted relatives or children and their descendants are put upon the same footing as relatives by descent whether as to those who adopted them or as to those who have been adopted.

"III. If there is not enough of the property remaining to support a spouse and all surviving relatives, as enumerated above, then the most needy of them must be provided for first.

"IV. The amount of allowance to be given a spouse and surviving relatives from the property of the deceased is determined by the institution conducting the affairs of social security in the Governments, and in Moscow and Petrograd by the municipal Soviets of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies, in agreement with the persons who have the right to receive the allowance, and, in case of dispute between them, by the local court, according to the usual legal procedure. Cases of this sort are under the jurisdiction of the Soviets of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies and the local courts of the last place of residence of the deceased.

"V. All property of the deceased, other than that enumerated in Article IX of this decree, comes under the jurisdiction of the local Soviet, which turns it over to the bureaus or institutions having control in these localities of similar property of the Russian Republic, according to the last place of residence of the deceased or according to the place where this property is situated.

"VI. The local Soviet publishes, for the purpose of general notification, the death of the property owner, and calls upon the persons who have a right to receive support from the said property to appear within a year from the date of the publication.

"VII. Those who do not declare their claims before the expiration of the year following the publication, as provided in the above article, lose their right to receive support from the property of the deceased.

"VIII. From the property of the deceased are paid, first, the expenses of the administration of the property. The relatives and spouse of the deceased receive their allowance before the creditors are paid. The creditors of the deceased, if their claims are recognized as proper to be paid, are satisfied from the property after the deduction indicated above, on condition, in case the property is insufficient to cover all demands of the creditors, that the general principles of the meeting of creditors be applied.

"IX. If the property of the deceased does not exceed 10,000 *rubles*, or in particular consists of a farmhouse, domestic furniture, and means for economical production by work, in either the city or the village, it comes under the immediate control of the spouse and relatives enumerated in Article 11 of the present decree, who are present. The method of control and management of the property is arranged by agreement between the spouse and relatives, and, in case of their disagreement, by the local tribunal.

"X. The present decree is retroactive as regards all inheritances discovered before it was issued, if they have not yet been acquired by the heirs, or, if acquired, if they have not yet been taken possession of by the heirs.

"XI. All suits now pending respecting inheritances, suits respecting the probate of wills, respecting confirmation of the rights of inheritance, etc., are deemed to be discontinued, and the respective hereditary property is to be at once turned over for administration to the local Soviets or institutions indicated in Article V of the present decree.

"Note: Concerning hereditary properties discovered before the present decree is issued—properties enumerated in Article IX of the present decree—a special regulation will be issued.

"XII. The People's Commissioner of Justice is empowered, in agreement with the Commissariat of Social Security and Work, to issue a detailed instruction concerning the enforcement of the present decree.

"The present decree is of force from the date of its signature, and is to be put into operation by telegraph."

Other official text matter of Bolshevist decrees is also available but omitted from this pamphlet as having no special bearing on industrial matters, such as the law on the Church and State, Supreme Board of National Economy, the Revolutionary Tribunal of the Press, the People's Court, Decree Concerning Marriage, etc., Regulation concerning the Administration of National Undertakings, the Supply of Agricultural Implements and a Decree Regarding Government Publications.

Part Two—Section One

BOLSHEVISM CONVICTED OUT OF ITS OWN MOUTH

(Prepared for the League of National Unity)
By William English Walling.

[EDITOR'S NOTE: The author of this article is widely known in Socialistic circles of the United States. His discussion of the Bolshevist "programme," is analytical in method and is based on the Socialist viewpoint.]

It would be possible to print volumes of evidence as to the Bolshevik régimé in Russia. This evidence comes from every possible source. Without exception the diplomatic representatives and the commercial agents of America, France and Great Britain have told the same story. With one or two exceptions, the large corps of correspondents stationed in Russia for many years and familiar with the language of the country substantiate the story. Thousands of American citizens, tens of thousands of other foreigners who have lived in Russia for many years, have, upon their return to America or their native lands, given an account which is identical in every important particular.

But unfortunately the extreme liberality of the American press and the fair-mindedness of the American public has resulted in an almost equally wide publication of utterly baseless pro-Bolshevik statements. These statements have had a certain success because the Bolshevik censorship, beginning in August, has very much decreased direct communications with Russia.

This pro-Bolshevik propaganda resembles in every way the pro-German propaganda. It begins by denying absolutely the mass of existing evidence, including even the original documents put forth by the American Government with the direct authorization of President Wilson. All the vast masses of material gathered directly or indirectly through any governmental sources are rejected on the entirely false assumption that it is all official or governmental. The daily papers and correspondents, with the exception of a few pro-Bolshevik writers, are repudiated as being capitalists. The same is said of all foreign witnesses. The immense amount of testimony gathered from other political parties in Russia is rejected as being either "Bourgeois" or "partisan."

Having thus gotten rid of all existing testimony, the pro-Bolshevik propagandists then proceed to build up an entirely new and imaginary structure of their own.

The pro-Bolshevik has had little or no success in accomplishing its main object. It has produced few Bolshevists in this country and not many pro-Bolshevists. But it has succeeded in confusing the public mind. For four months there has been comparatively little new material from Russia. During this period the pro-Bolshevists have succeeded in getting before the public many of their imaginative productions. What is the origin of these stories? A few newspaper correspondents and writers have become the official mouthpieces of Bolshevism. For example the *New York Times* and other newspapers for many months published the articles of Arthur Ransome as coming from their own official correspondent. At the end of this period *The Times* on several occasions printed a notice to the effect that Ransome was the official mouthpiece of Lenine and Trotzky. There were several other similar cases. The second group of pro-Bolshevist propagandists is composed of correspondents or "social workers" who knowing nothing of the Russian language, Russian politics, Russian geography or the Russian people, went to Petrograd or Moscow and spent a few weeks or a few months in the country under the chaotic conditions of the revolution. Even in times of peace Russia is difficult to understand because of its huge size and complicated conditions—even by persons who have spent many years in that country. During the revolutionary turmoil, communication has been so bad that it would take months to gather evidence which might be secured in a day in ordinary times. The evidence of these fleeting visitors, most of them entirely without any qualification whatever for such difficult investigation, is all but worthless.

Fortunately there is a method by which the whole situation can easily be cleared up. It is not necessary to consider either the so-called testimony of the pro-Bolshevist propaganda or the vast mass of evidence gathered from hundreds of other sources. The avowed position of the Bolsheviki themselves, their own utterances and actions which they do not deny are quite sufficient for all practical purposes.

The article therefore concerns itself almost entirely with the Bolshevists' own declarations and acts which they themselves do not deny, but, on the contrary, boastfully avow. In order to acquaint the reader with the nature of some of the evidence which comes from non-Bolshevik sources, some of it is referred to only briefly; but most of our space is given to the Bolshevists' own statements.

Like the German propaganda, the pro-Bolshevik agitation makes very grave blunders—even from the standpoint of its own interests. The pro-Bolshevists, for example, are making claims on behalf of the Bolsheviki, which the later themselves deny!

In America, the Russian Bolshevists are represented as being democrats; in Russia, Lenine and his followers lose no occasion to repudiate democracy, both in word and in deed. Our quotations will show that the very basis of Bolshevism consists in the repudiation of democracy!

In America, the Bolsheviki are represented as having given land to a landless peasantry; in Russia, the Bolsheviki attribute nearly all of their troubles to the fact that there has been very little land (not in peasant hands before the revolution) to give —a fact which will also be demonstrated later by quotations from the Bolsheviki themselves.

In America, the Bolsheviki are represented as being pacifists; Lenine and Trotzky have neglected no opportunity to denounce bourgeois pacifism and to assert that they are in favor of a holy war against any and all non-Bolshevik governments wherever such a war has a chance of success.

In America, the Bolsheviki are represented as favoring individual liberty; in Russia, the Bolsheviki absolutely repudiate such regard for personal liberty as being a "bourgeois doctrine and practice."

In America, Lenine is presented as being a hundred per cent Socialist; in Russia, Lenine presents himself one hundred per cent anti-Socialist, that is, a "communist," opposed to the Socialist International.

In May, 1917, the first or non-Bolshevik revolution was already sufficiently developed to enable Lenine to define the application of his doctrine to the new political situation in which Russia found itself.

From the *New International* (April, 1918), an American Bolshevik publication, we quote the following paragraph of a long article by Lenine:

> "The word democracy cannot be scientifically applied to the Communist Party. Since March, 1917, the word democracy is simply a shackle fastened upon the revolutionary nation and preventing it from establishing boldly, freely and regardless of all obstacles, a new form of power; the council of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, harbinger of the abolition of every form of authority."

Shortly after the Bolsheviki came into power, Lenine defined the new "dictatorship" of the proletariat as follows:

> "Just as 150,000 lordly landowners under Czarism dominated the 130,000,000 of Russian peasants, so 200,000 members of the Bolsheviki party are imposing their proletarian will on the mass, but this time in the interest of the latter."

In order to understand thoroughly the extent and precise grounds of Lenine's repudiation of democracy, let us quote his denunciation of the rival faction of the Social Democratic or Workingmen's Party, namely, the Mensheviki:

> "In its class composition this party is not Socialist at all. It does not represent the toiling masses. It represents fairly prosperous peasants and workingmen, petty traders, many small and some even fairly large capitalists, and a certain number of real, but gullible proletarians, who have been caught in the bourgeois net."

We are progressing into the Lenine psychology. Even "a fairly prosperous" workingman is not a "proletarian."

In a political catechism prepared in the summer of 1917, Lenine asks the question, is it necessary to convoke the Constituent Assembly, and answers, "Yes, and as soon as possible." This demonstrates that the Bolsheviki did not dare to oppose the idea of a democratic Constituent Assembly and did not intend to oppose it if they could gain control of it. It was only because they found the overwhelming majority of the peasants and a large part of the working people against them that they dispersed the Constituent Assembly and established the "Soviet" doctrine. What this doctrine is we may see from an examination of the Soviet constitution adopted at the fifth Pan-Russian Congress of Soviets.

In the preamble, the Soviets state that they propose "to put an end to every ill that oppresses humanity." The Soviets necessarily proceed to a very extreme policy to carry such a program into effect, declaring for "a dictatorship of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry."

Here the cat is out of the bag. Not even "the poor peasantry" can be relied on. Only a very vaguely defined class of "the poorest peasantry" is trusted to support the dictatorship of the city working classes, which in Russia do not represent more than ten or twelve per cent of the population. Furthermore, a very large proportion of this working class, as we shall show below, is anti-Bolshevik.

The utter impossibility of defining the "poorest peasantry," leads the Soviet Congress to adopt another anti-democratic expedient for preventing the Russian people from controlling Russia —for disfranchising the peasantry representing eighty-four per cent of the population. This expedient is very simple. Each Bolshevik workingman (the non-Bolshevik being excluded by methods described below) is given the same vote as five peasants! The following is Article One of Section 8 of the Soviet Constitution:

> "The Pan-Russian Congress of Soviets consists of representatives of the urban Soviets (one delegate for each 25,000 votes), and representatives of the government congresses (one delegate for each 125,000 voters).

No discussion of the Soviet program will be complete without stating its position on international affairs. The Soviet proposes a world-wide war against all non-Soviet governments, whenever and wherever such a war promises success—and the wars they have actually waged show what they will do if they get the chance.

Bolshevism in Practice

We have given sufficient Bolshevik evidence on the Bolshevik program. Let us now turn to the practical working out of the program, which is a far different thing.

Certain new converts to Bolshevism have been circulating the entire Bolshevik program, together with their plans for the transformation of industry, government, education, literature, music and art, as if the mere publication of Lenine's ukases were equivalent to the complete accomplishment of the stupendous changes proposed! We have already quoted expressions of Lenine's showing the breakdown of his program in its most fundamental point, namely, the effort to secure the support of the peasantry. We shall now quote Trotzky and Gorky as to the failure of Bolshevism in other directions.

Gorky is undoubtedly the greatest literary figure among the Bolsheviki. It is true that his paper was forbidden for a long period and that he was for a time practically out of that movement. But he has re-entered it recently and has been given an important position by the Bolsheviki. They not only accept him once more as one of their leaders, but are boasting about his return to the fold. The motives for this return we do not know. Possibly Gorky desired to stay in Russia and to keep his head on his shoulders. Possibly he was influenced by the considerable power given him in matters pertaining to literature and education.

It needs the pen of a master writer like Gorky to describe the practical workings of Bolshevism. And he has done a good job! We shall now reproduce quotations from Gorky's principal articles about the Bolsheviki—with the minimum of editorial comment necessary to bring out the importance of the points raised.

Nikolai Lenine is the Kaiser, the Pope and the Karl Marx of the Bolshevik movement. His doctrines and ukases are absolute. No instance is on record where his doctrines or authority have been impugned. In his works Lenine defends not only a dictatorship of the proletariat, but a highly centralized revolutionary movement with one man at the top. Gorky's description of Lenine therefore becomes extremely important. We see him from the point of the great Russian Bolshevik writer as a sort of Calvin or Loyola, a fanatic, a man who is willing to put his theories into effect regardless of the cost in human life and regardless of the opposition of the overwhelming majority of the population.

Gorky on Lenine

"Lenine is one of the most remarkable men of the Socialist 'International.' He is very intelligent and possesses all the qualities of a 'chief,' including the absolute moral indifference which is often necessary for such a part. On occasions, he does not lack a certain sentimentalism, but, at the same time, he has no pity for the mass of people. And he believes that he has the right to make this terrible experiment on the Russian people. Weary of the war, and very unhappy, this people has already paid for Lenine's 'experience' with thousands and thousands of lives. It will still cost it tens of thousands more. But this atrocious tragedy never makes Lenine hesitate, for he is the slave of dogma, and his partisans are his slaves.

"Lenine does not know the people. But he does know—from his books—how to arouse the masses and how to excite their worst instincts. The working classes are to Lenine what minerals are to the metallurgist. Can a Socialist-Nationalist state be made of this mineral? Indeed, no, and Lenine doubts it. But why not try? What does Lenine risk if the attempt does not come off? Nothing much."

This description of Gorky's is all the more important because he himself shares a very large part of the Bolshevik theories—he opposes only the violent and autocratic methods of Lenine. In another article in his paper, the *Novoya Zhism,* Gorky resumes his analysis of Lenine's cruel and despotic actions. Let us note that Gorky realizes fully that Bolshevism and Soviets have become identical, this is important, for the pro-Bolshevists of the New Republic and other similar American publications, have endeavored to secure the recognition of the Bolsheviki by the

round-about method of demanding the recognition of the Soviets —insisting that they are still two separate and distinct things! Gorky says:

"Here begins the line of sharp division between myself and the chaotic, topsy-turvy, activities of the Soviets. I regard intellectual Bolshevism to be of great value to the aspiring Russian soul. This intellectual Bolshevism or Bolshevism of ideas could train the Russian soul to boldly demand its own, stir it to readiness for struggle and activity, awaken this indolent spirit to the sense of initiative, and especially give it form and life.

"But the practical Bolshevism of the anarchistic-communalistic visionaries which emanates from the Smolny Institute is injurious to Russia, and, above all, to the laboring class. The Soviets regard Russia as so much material for experiments. The Russian people is to them like the horse to the bacteriologist who injects the animal with the bacillus of typhus in order to produce antitoxin. It is with this kind of brutality and this form of disregard of consequences that the Soviets treat the Russian people, without giving the least thought to the possibility that the tortured and half-starved creatures may die in the process.

"The social revolution that is planned can never be realized under the present conditions of life in Russia, for the reason that it is not possible to turn over night into Soviets 85 per cent of the population of the country, which consists of peasants, living together with about twenty million of nomads from alien races.

"My own opinion is that the Soviets are undermining and destroying the working class of Russia. They are setting up formidable towers of fearful and senseless complications that will stand in the path of the working class. Deaf to the voice of reason, they are bringing into existence unheard of unsurmountable difficulties for the whole of the future course of proletarians in their efforts to advance the progress of the war."

The Bolsheviki Program "Written on Water"

Gorky says that there is practically no relation whatever between Bolsheviki professions and Bolshevik practice. The professions are themselves sufficient to arouse the last degree of hostility on the part of every democrat—as we have shown above in quoting the Bolshevik's own statements. The practice is infinitely worse. As Gorky says, the Bolshevik actually can have no relation whatever with any sort of idealism—not even with the perverted reactionary and anti-democratic idealism of the Bolsheviki themselves. Gorky says:

"The proletarian is the bearer of a new culture. In these words were incorporated the beautiful dream concerning the triumph of righteousness, reason and love, the dream of the triumph of man over

beast. In the struggle for the realization of this dream thousands of men of all classes gave up their lives. Now the proletarian is at the helm, he has secured the coveted freedom to labor and create freely.

"It is now in order and pertinent to ask: 'How does this labor and proletarian's freedom to create express itself?' The decrees of 'the Government of People's Commissioners' are no more than newspaper feuilletons, no more, no less. It is that sort of literature which is written on water, and even though a real idea is now and then given expression to, the present circumstances forbid the realization of any idea.

"What new things, then, is the revolution bringing? How is it transforming the bitter realities of Russian life? How much light is it bringing into the darkened lives of the Russian people?"

For the period of the revolution ten thousand lynchings have already been accounted for. This is how democracy is meting out judgment upon those who have in some way sinned against the new order.

During the days of the progress of drunkenness human beings were shot down like dogs and the cold-blooded destruction of human lives came to be a commonplace, daily occurrence. In the newspaper *Pravda* the *pogroms* of the drunken mobs are written up as the "provocative acts of the bourgeois" which is clearly a misrepresentation, the employment of a pretty phrase which can only lead to the further shedding of blood.

Theft and robbery are increasing from day to day. The practice of the art of taking bribes is becoming more and more widely introduced and our new officials are already as well trained in the art as those who served under the Czar's government. The dubious individuals who have assembled around the Smolny Institute do not even hesitate to intimidate the frightened citizens. The coarseness of the representatives of the government of the "People's Commissioners" have aroused universal protest, and yet these representatives speak in grieved tones. The various petty officials who hover about the Smolny Institute appear to be drunk with a sense of conquest and regard the citizens as if they were the conquered, acting even as the misguided police of former days were in the habit of acting. They shout and scold and give commands to every one, just as of yore the village sheriffs would treat the inhabitants of the obscurest rural districts in Kanotop or Tchsuloma, and all this is done in the name of the "proletarian," in the name of the "social revolution." But in reality it represents only the triumph of the beast over man, the ascendancy of the Asiatic spirit which still dwells among us, the ugly growth upon our soul. Where, then, is that spirit which

expressed itself in "the idealism of the Russian workingman" whom Karl Kautsky has so enthusiastically eulogized?

Where is that which is supposed to be incorporated in the morality of socialism—the new morality?

I expect that one of our "realists in politics" will answer me contemptuously with the usual phrase: "What is it you wish? Do you not realize that this is the revolution?" No! I do not recognize the unmistakable signs of the social revolution in this association of zoological instincts. It is a combination of the feelings of our lower selves, without socialism, without the spirit of socialism, without the psychology of socialism.

The Demoralization of the Masses Through Bolshevism

It cannot be said that Bolshevism has had no effect upon the Russian masses. No free election or any other evidence has indicated that the Bolsheviki have a majority in Russia, or even in the big cities where they are strongest. But the power that they hold through their control of the arsenals, the food supply, the railways, the firing squads and the secret police, has enabled them to have an immense effect—of a deleterious kind. (They rule precisely as the Czar did. There can be no question that Nicholas II. had ninety per cent, if not ninety-five per cent of the people against him. Yet the helplessness of a disarmed peasantry scattered over two continents allowed him to continue his rule.) The effect of Bolshevism on the masses is described by Gorky as follows:

"All observers of the village to-day are unanimously of the opinion that the process of disintegration and demoralization is proceeding there with irresistible force. Having plundered the estates of the landowners, having shared out among themselves or simply destroyed the dead and living stocks of those estates, having even taken to pieces the buildings, the peasants are now preparing for war against one another for the division of the spoil. To this is added the calamity of famine. In some districts the population has long ago consumed all the available stocks of corn, including seed-corn; while in others the peasants, having had a good harvest, are hiding corn and even burying it in order not to share it with their starving neighbors. All this must lead, and in some places has already led, to a war of all against all, and to the most senseless chaos and universal destruction and murder."

In a bitter passage, terrible in its irony, Gorky concludes:

"Yes, the process of self-discipline among the masses is proceeding with gigantic strides. The revolutionary army garrison at Sebastopol has already undertaken the last final struggle with the bour-

geoisie. Without much ado they decided simply to massacre all the bourgeoisie who lived within their reach. They decided and did it. At first they massacred the inhabitants of the two most bourgeois streets in Sebastopol; then the same operation, in spite of the resistance of the local Soviet, was extended to Simferopol, and then the turn came to Eupatoria.

"Apparently similar radical methods of class war will soon be applied to Greater Russia, for we have already Mr. Bleichmann (the leader of the anarchists) energetically carrying on an agitation within the walls of the Petrograd Soviet in this sense.

"In Russia conscience is dead. The Russian people, in fact, have lost all sense of right and wrong. 'Pillage whatever there is to pillage.' Such is the motto of two groups of Bolsheviki. The Red Guards, constituted to attack the counter-revolutionaries, shoot without any trial any one whom they suspect. Pillage in all its forms is the only thing which is organized. In Petrograd every Bolshevik citizen may share in the spoil. The churches, museums, shops and stores are robbed.

"In the provinces still more tragic events are taking place. Almost incredible demands are made upon the population at a few hours' notice. The Crimea is undoubtedly the province which has suffered most. The sailors of the Black Sea Fleet brutally murdered several hundreds of their officers, and repeated these barbarous outrages in several towns, where they also murdered political prisoners. The scenes were such as to cause several cases of insanity among the terrorized population. The slaughter continues, and shooting is rife in the towns."

Trotzky and the Professional Bolsheviki

When the Bolsheviki secured control of the Russian Government by the aid of bayonets and a large supply of money, the source of which is still a matter of dispute, the party had from one hundred to two hundred thousand members, according to statements of Lenine. These are the professional Bolshevists—and it is with them alone that the real power rests. After the Bolsheviki had been in power for seven or eight months, Trotzky made the following frank statement of the character of the Russian labor organizations which compose the Bolshevik movement:

"Let us be honest. Who are the leaders of the labor organizations to-day? Partly worthy, self-sacrificing and convinced people who therefore have learned nothing and are scarcely able to read and write, but partly all sorts of adventurers and swindlers who take advantage of every great chance to make a position for themselves.

Evidence of a Pro-Bolshevik Prime Minister of Finland

Oscar Tokoi, first constitutionally elected Prime Minister of Finland, who has just spent several months in Russia as an ally

of the Bolsheviki, an alliance which he has since repudiated, sums up the situation as follows:

"In comparison with the entire population only a small minority supports the Government, and, what is worse, to the supporters of the Government are rallying all the hooligans, robbers, and others to whom this period of confusion promises a good chance of individual action.

"Even a great part of those who from the beginning could stay with the Government and who still are sincere social democrats, having seen all this chaos, begin to step aside, or to ally themselves with those openly opposing the Government. Naturally, as time goes by, there remains only the worst and the most demoralized element. Terror, arbitrary rule, and open brigandage become more and more usual and the Government is not able to prevent it.

"Naturally only a small part of the people will remain backing such an order.

"A Socialistic society cannot be brought about by the force of arms and cannot be supported by the force of arms, but a Socialist order must be founded on a conscious and living will of an overwhelming majority of the nation which is able to realize its will without the help of arms.

"I do not believe that at this time there is in Russia any social force which would be able to organize the conditions in the country. For that reason, to my mind, we should, to begin with, frankly and honestly rely on the help of the allied powers.

"The democratic traditions of these countries are some surety that the social order established by them will be a democratic one.

"We must destroy the originator and the cause of the war, militarism, by its own arms, and on its ruins we must build, in harmony and in peace—not by force, as the Russian Bolsheviki want—a new and better social order under the guardianship of which the people may develop peacefully and securely."

IV. SOVIET "ELECTIONS"

The ukases fixing the electoral qualifications for the Soviets are issued from time to time by Lenine and are countermanded or modified when results are not satisfactory. In the middle of last June at Lenine's orders, the Central Executive Council of the Russian Soviets "decided to expel those of its members representing the social revolutionists of the Right and the Center and the Mensheviki. All local councils are asked to expel representatives of the same parties." This is a wireless message of the official Russian Bolshevik agency.

But all Socialist proletarians and even extreme revolutionists who did not agree with the Bolsheviki are now being defranchised.

The above mentioned groups are more or less moderate Socialists. Lenine, the official Bolshevik organ tells us, has now proceeded to disfranchise even the extreme Social Revolutionaries of the Left.

> Kazan, July 26.—As the important offices in the Soviet were occupied by Socialist Revolutionaries of the Left, the Extraordinary Commission has dissolved the Provincial Soviet. The Governmental power is now represented by a Revolutionary Committee.—Izvestya, July 28.

The most extraordinary Soviet elections were perhaps those of Petrograd at the end of the month of June. Maxim Gorky's newspaper, the *Novoya Zhism*, which furnishes the report probably most nearly correct, shows that the Petrograd proletariat was absolutely governed by Bolsheviki:

> "The Bolsheviki, it was indicated, won through the votes of the unemployed, the red guards, artificially created government organizations and alleged unions. The Soviets at the point of the bayonet, arrested opposition leaders, stopped meetings, suspended newspapers and closed factories and workingmen's clubs.
>
> "In all the Obuchovsky and Nevsky districts martial law was proclaimed. Many workmen were arrested. Patrols and armored automobiles still fill the districts. The workmen are extremely resentful and a serious outbreak is expected.
>
> "A special conference of Petrograd workers decided on a day's strike as a protest. They will demand abolition of capital punishment, which has been one of the methods by which the Bolsheviki retains its power."

The one day general strike was carried out by the labor unions of Petrograd, but without effect. The unions had to content themselves with the issuing of the following manifesto, which, of course, led to their dissolution by the Bolsheviki:

> "According to a resolution adopted by the Petrograd shop stewards communities, day and night, in the streets and in houses, murders occur, carried out not only by criminals but also by responsible agents of the Soviet Government. Murders are continued in the guise of fighting the counter revolutions, and the victims belong not only to the enemies of the people but very frequently to the most peaceful class of citizens, workers, students, peasants and soldiers. Murders are committed without any inquiry of trial, deliberately and coldly, and in the name of the revolutionary proletariat.
>
> "We, the representatives of the Petrograd working class, before the entire people of Russia, proclaim that these murders are polluting the honor of the revolution, of democracy and socialism. We repudiate with indignation all responsibility for these sanguinary deeds, which form a stain upon our social banner. We call upon all the workers and upon all honest citizens to join us in our protest and demand a public trial of the authors of these bestialities and murders.'

V. THE GERMAN SOCIALIST VIEW OF BOLSHEVIKI

It is unnecessary to point out that the German Socialists have been deeply interested in the Bolshevik movement from the beginning and have followed it from day to day. We shall not quote the opinion of any of the moderate Socialist wing which is obviously anti-Bolshevik. We shall confine ourselves to quotations from the Independent or Minority Socialists, the group led by Haase, Kautsky and Bernstein.

Karl Kautsky, who is the world's leading Socialist authority and who belongs to the radical wing of the movement, is now Foreign Prime Minister of Germany. In a recent article on the Bolsheviki he says:

"The Socialists must defend democracy, as Socialism without democracy is impossible." He cites Karl Marx to prove that Socialism is attainable peacefully in democratic countries and gives a series of citations from Marx to prove that Bolshevism is false to his principles.

Kautsky says a dictatorship by the lower classes led to a dictatorship by the sword, and he sharply criticizes the Russian Soviet Government, which has taken the power from the masses and created a dictatorship by one party of the proletariat, outlawing opposition. He says the Bolsheviki are going to lose completely in Russia, as when they lose their power they will be unable to continue as a minority. He says the Bolsheviki know it, and are therefore trying by all means, clean or dirty, to hold power.

In the early stages of the Bolshevik movement, Kautsky gave a lengthy analysis showing how, from the Socialist standpoint, Bolshevism was an impossibility. His principal expressions were as follows:

> "The population of Russia is still three-fourths agrarian and the greater part is illiterate; agriculture is technically backward and the means of communication extraordinarily deficient * * * from it results that the revolution, because of the general character of the country can only be bourgeois and not Socialistic.
>
> "The dictatorship of the proletariat meant the discontinuance of the capitalistic production, which would be impossible under the proletariat government. Has Russia advanced to the point where Socialistic production is impossible? Moreover, the proletariat of Russia is not politically strong enough or sufficiently developed to take over the whole machinery of government and adapt the machinery to its needs. The danger was that the proletariat government would work in the direction of destroying the government instead of taking possession of it and transforming it, and another danger arose,

that the backward sections of the country which felt that they were oppressed (under this new system) would protect themselves by declaring for the complete independence of provinces, yes, even of villages, as the Bakunin anarchists did in the early seventies in Spain. Under the conditions existing in Russia the dictatorship of the proletariat threatened to bring about the political and social disintegration of the country and to lead in this way to chaos and to the moral bankruptcy of the revolution."

Bernstein is the Finance Minister of Germany. Theoretically he is in opposition to the orthodox Marxism of Kautsky and is almost as well known to the entire Socialist world. But he is a member of the Independent Party and agrees with Kautsky about the Bolsheviki. In a long article he declares that the Brest-Litovsk Treaty was a calamity both for the Russian and German Socialists, and that the Russian Bolsheviki must be considered as responsible for that treaty. He says that they pretended to base their conclusions to sign it on the fact that a German revolution was impending. But he does not accept this excuse, for he points out that both these men were fully informed as to German conditions and must have known that the German revolution was still far away. The German revolution, according to all the best observers, awaited the defeat of the German armies and the facts have proven these observers to be correct.

Bernstein also says that the appeal of the Bolsheviki for immediate revolutions throughout Western Europe was equally inexcusable as they must have known that things were not ripe for a revolution in those countries either. The signing of the treaty was therefore nothing more or less than an alliance with German imperialism.

Among the new figures brought to light by the German revolution has been Kurt Eisner, Prime Minister of Bavaria, an exceptionally radical Socialist. Along with Barth, Dittmann and others of this group—who were in accord with Liebknecht until the latter went over to Bolshevism, Eisner totally repudiates the new Russian despotism. He says:

"Ours is a bloodless revolution. I was always opposed to Bolshevism and shall continue to be so. We don't want chaos and terror in Germany. What about a dictatorship of the proletariat? I believe somewhat in dictators, but they must be nominated by the people and not imposed upon them."

In contrast with this, let us take the view of the German Imperialists who recognize the Bolshevik Government and aided it to get into power by every conceivable means. Of course, the German Imperialists deeply appreciate the immense service done

for them by Trotzky and Lenine. This appreciation has nowhere been better expressed than in a recent article by one of the leading publicists of Germany, Paul Rohrbach. Rohrbach is not a fire-eater, but one of the most level-headed of the German Imperialists. He is even called a "liberal" and "democrat." No doubt the ultra-extremists are even more gratified with the Bolsheviki and would express themselves even more cynically. Rohrbach's "liberal" views are more interesting, however, as undoubtedly representing the standpoint of the attitude of the vast majority of the German nation on Bolshevism.

Rohrbach writes:

"The Bolsheviki are gradually getting into trouble. What is our attitude? For the present there is for us no greater interest in the East than the interest of maintaining Bolshevism. Many people have the curious idea of wanting to conclude a commercial treaty with Bolshevism. If anybody expects any benefit from it, by all means let him talk to the Bolsheviki about commercial treaties or similar things; it will do no harm, but what the Bolsheviki are doing for us is something much greater than that.

"They are ruining Great Russia; they are destroying absolutely the very roots of any possible danger from Russia in the future. They have already relieved us of most of the anxiety which we could feel about Great Russia, and we ought to do everything in order that they may continue, as long as possible, activities which are so very profitable for us. If they offer armed help against the Czechs at Samara and Omsk, we should consider the offer very seriously. We should also prevent the Cossacks from going too far against Great Russia, and from seriously disturbing the Bolsheviki. The Bolsheviki themselves believe that they are the salvation, not only of Russia, but of the world. That is the very best creed that we can want—provided that it remains confined to Great Russia. Great Russia for the Bolsheviki and the Bolsheviki for Great Russia! Let us preserve that situation, and we shall earn at the same time the gratitude of the Bolsheviki and the profits for Germany."

VI. THE BOLSHEVIK DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

The criticisms passed by a handful of persons of the documents published under the direction of President Wilson have been utterly refuted. These criticisms were so contradictory that they had little effect on anyone who took the time to study the documents or who was familiar with Russian affairs. What are these criticisms?

(1) In an appendix to the documents Mr. Creel saw fit to print a few copies of additional documents, the original of which he did not have in his possession. He stated that he did not have the originals but at the same time gave grounds, based upon the other documents, for believing that these copies also were substantially correct. Nearly all attacks made from Socialist and pro-Bolshevik quarters were based upon this appendix. (2) Two or three professors could not understand why the Russian-German spies and agents who issued the documents used Russian dates instead of German dates. Has not the connection between the Russian and German secret police always been intimate? This is really no problem at all. Each individual instance of such dates has been thoroughly explained by Mr. Creel.

Based upon these absurd criticisms there has arisen a campaign of suspicion of Mr. Wilson and the whole American Administration, which, after the utmost deliberation, gave the full weight of their support to these extremely important documents. They are just about as firmly established as the Declaration of Independence. The writer is personally acquainted with one of the individuals chiefly responsible for gathering these documents. This man is not an official of the American Government. He is an American author and Socialist. He has spent years of his life in Russia, and is thoroughly familiar with the Russian Socialist movement, having been for many years in more or less sympathy with that movement, including the Bolsheviki, with whose leaders he is personally and thoroughly acquainted. This man, in coöperation with many Americans and Russians, gathered these documents together from many different quarters.

Mr. Sisson, who was the organizer of the campaign to bring these documents together, is also a man of established reputation. There is, therefore, no ground whatever to suspect the origin of the documents. But the photographic reproductions themselves furnish evidence that has been absolutely satisfactory to every unbiased person who has seen them. Furthermore, they are now reproduced by the Government in pamphlet form and have been circulated by the thousands so that every American is able to examine them for himself.

Let us remind the reader of the chief conclusions demonstrated by these documents. We are no longer interested in the relation of the Bolsheviki to the war. But it is important to note that their relations with the German Government were kept secret by Lenine and Trotzky from the Bolsheviki themselves. It

is also important to remember that the German Government named a list of men who were to be elected to the Bolshevik Central Committee, and that these men were elected. It is important to know that before the Brest-Litovsk Treaty was signed, the Bolsheviki deliberately betrayed Russia by appointing a German-named commander to "defend" Petrograd. It is interesting and important that the identical arguments used by the German propaganda for two years were employed by the Bolsheviki to demoralize the Russian armies and to overthrow Kerensky.

What are we to conclude from facts of this sort? Were the Bolsheviki German agents? In one sense they were, in another sense they were not. They were never mere German agents. *But they were secret allies of Germany.* These Bolsheviki allies proceeded not only to turn over half of Russia to cruel enslavement by the German armies, but attempted by the means of spies and agents to extend the territory under German control.

Nor did the secret allies stop here. The German General Staff and the Bolsheviki sent agents to bring about revolutionary movements in all the great democratic countries. It is true that Lenine doubtless wished these revolutions for the sake of Bolshevism alone. It is also true that he was willing to run the risk that these revolutions would result in nothing whatever but the victory of German Imperialism and the enslavement of the world. In other words, in order to obtain a chance, however remote, of imposing Bolshevism on the rest of the world through the victory of German arms, he was willing to compel the rest of the world to run the risk of being conquered by German Imperialism.

Declaration of Labor Principles

Of the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States of America

1. Fair dealing is the fundamental and basic principle on which relations between employers and employes should rest.

2. The National Association of Manufacturers is not opposed to organizations of labor as such, but it is unalterably opposed to boycotts, blacklists and other illegal acts of interference with the personal liberty of employer or employe.

3. No person should be refused employment or in any way discriminated against on account of membership or non-membership in any labor organization, and there should be no discriminating against or interference with any employe who is not a member of a labor organization by members of such organization.

4. With due regard to contracts, it is the right of the employe to leave his employment whenever he sees fit, and it is the right of the employer to discharge any employe when he sees fit.

5. Employers must be free to employ their work people at wages mutually satisfactory, without interference or dictation on the part of individuals or organizations not directly parties to such contracts.

6. Employers must be unmolested and unhampered in the management of their business, in determining the amount and quality of their product, and in the use of any methods or systems of pay which are just and equitable.

7. In the interest of employes and employers of the country, no limitation should be placed upon the opportunities of any person to learn any trade to which he or she may be adapted.

8. The National Association of Manufacturers disapproves absolutely of strikes and lockouts, and favors an equitable adjustment of all differences between employers and employes, by any amicable method that will preserve the rights of both parties.

9. Employes have the right to contract for their services in a collective capacity, but any contract that contains a stipulation that employment should be denied to men not parties to the contract is an invasion of the constitutional rights of the American workman, is against public policy and is in violation of the conspiracy laws. This Association declares its unalterable antagonism to the closed shop and insists that the doors of no industry be closed against American workmen because of their membership or non-membership in any labor organization.

10. The National Association of Manufacturers pledges itself to oppose any and all legislation not in accord with the foregoing declaration.

END OF
TITLE